

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LONDON 04227 01 OF 03 141835Z  
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 IO-13 DHA-02 ACDA-10 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
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R 141819Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1536  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 04227

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK  
SUBJECT: THE FINANCIAL TIMES ARTICLE

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY BRIDGET BLOOM APPEARED IN THE  
MARCH 14 ISSUE OF "THE FINANCIAL TIMES" UNDER THE HEAD-  
LINE, THE AFRICAN CONUNDRUM FOR PRESIDENT CARTER.  
BEGIN TEXT: AFRICA STILL HAS WASHINGTON PUZZLED. "WE'RE  
CROSSING OUR FINGERS THAT AFRICA WILL STAY ON THE BACK  
BURNER A BIT LONGER. WE'RE RUNNING WITH THE BALL,  
WE'VE GOT LOTS OF IDEAS, BUT THEY HAVEN'T COME TOGETHER  
YET." THAT WAS HOW A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN WASHINGTON, WHO  
ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO WAS SPENDING MOST OF HIS TIME IN  
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PAGE 02 LONDON 04227 01 OF 03 141835Z

PLAINS, GA., REPLIED TO QUESTIONS ON THE CARTER ADMINIS-  
TRATION'S AFRICA POLICY.  
THE EUROPEAN VISITOR TO WASHINGTON, ANXIOUS TO KNOW  
WHICH WAY THE U.S. IS GOING TO COME DOWN ON AFRICA, FINDS  
A CONFUSING SCENE. THE CONTINENT, AND ESPECIALLY ITS  
SOUTHERN TIP, IS THE THIRD OR FOURTH FOREIGN PRIORITY OF  
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THERE HAVE BEEN PLENTY OF

STATEMENTS ON AFRICA ESPECIALLY FROM THE NEW AND CONTROVERSIAL UN AMBASSADOR, MR. ANDREW YOUNG. YET THERE IS NO OVERALL POLICY SO FAR. PARTLY THAT IS SO BECAUSE THE ADMINISTRATION IS ONLY SIX WEEKS OLD, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY PERSONALITY CHANGES, AND TIME IS NEEDED TO SHAKE DOWN. PARTLY, ALSO, IT IS BECAUSE THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS ITSELF CONFUSED.

BUT VERY SOON, EVEN IF THERE IS NO CRISIS IN AFRICA ITSELF, DECISIONS MAY HAVE TO BE TAKEN. ON MARCH 17, PRESIDENT CARTER IS TO ADDRESS THE UN. SHORTLY AFTER THAT, THE CHANCES ARE THAT MR. YOUNG WILL PRESIDE OVER A SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE IN WHICH AFRICAN STATES MAY WELL CALL FOR FULL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA--THE SORT OF PROPOSAL WHICH IN THE PAST HAS PROVOKED AN AUTOMATIC U.S. VETO. THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS UNDOUBTEDLY MORE INCLINED TO BE TOUGHER THAN ITS PREDECESSOR WITH THE REMAINING WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A BREAK WITH THE PAST. ITS FIRST DILEMMA IS THAT THOUGH THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF STYLE AND TONE, THERE IS LITTLE DISAGREEMENT WITH THE BASIC AFRICAN AIMS OF THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. HAD MR. CARTER BECOME PRESIDENT IN JANUARY 1976 INSTEAD OF THIS YEAR, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A REMARKABLE CHANGE. FOR IT WAS ONLY FOLLOWING THE ANGOLAN DEBACLE, WHEN THE U.S. NOT ONLY BACKED THE LOSING SIDE BUT APPEARED IMPLICITLY TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA TO INVADE ANGOLA, THAT THE FORMER U.S. SECRETARY, DR. HENRY KISSINGER, CHANGED TACK. PREVIOUSLY HE HAD EITHER LARGELY IGNORED SOUTHERN AFRICA, OR (UNDER MR. NIXON) SHOWED SYMPATHY FOR

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PAGE 03 LONDON 04227 01 OF 03 141835Z

THE WHITE GOVERNMENT THERE. BUT LAST APRIL, AFTER HEAVY ATTACKS FROM DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS, LED BY MR. DICK CLARK, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS AFRICA SUB-COMMITTEE, HE THREW HIS WEIGHT BEHIND A RAPID TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) AND FOR THE FIRST TIME APPEARED, IF HALF-HEARTEDLY, TO ENDORSE A SIMILAR SOLUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA. THAT ABOUT-TURN AND THE SUBSEQUENT INITIATIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS BACKED BY THE MAJORITY OF DEMOCRATS CONCERNED WITH AFRICA. DR. KISSINGER'S BASIC PRIORITIES, WHICH CONSIDERED RHODESIA THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM, FOLLOWED BY NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, WERE ENDORSED BY HIS SUCCESSOR, MR. CYRUS VANCE IN HIS FIRST MAJOR STATEMENT ON AFRICA LAST MONTH. ON RHODESIA, IN PARTICULAR, THERE IS NO APPARENT CHANGE FROM THE PAST. THE ADMINISTRATION IS PUSHING HARD TO EFFECT WHAT WAS A KISSINGER PROMISE--THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT, WHICH ALLOWS THE U.S. TO IMPORT RHODESIAN CHROME DESPITE UN SANCTIONS. THE MEASURE COULD EVEN PASS

CONGRESS THIS MONTH. MR. VANCE AND MR. YOUNG HAVE STATED MORE EXPLICITLY THAN DR. KISSINGER THAT THE U.S. WILL IN NO WAY SUPPORT CONTINUING WHITE RULE (OR VARIATIONS OF IT) IN RHODESIA. BUT ALTHOUGH TALKS IN WASHINGTON LAST

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PAGE 01 LONDON 04227 02 OF 03 141839Z  
ACTION AF-08

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 04227

MONTH BETWEEN SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICE AND STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF AN IMMEDIATE NEW INITIATIVE, THE POLICY OF ENCOURAGING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN RHODESIA WAS EXPLICITLY ENDORSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER DURING HIS MEETINGS LAST WEEK WITH MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN, THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER. IT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN AGREED THAT THE BRITISH MAY HAVE TO MAKE THE NEXT MOVE, IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH WASHINGTON.

IF THERE IS TO BE A BREAK WITH THE PAST, IT IS MORE LIKELY TO BE ON SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH DESPITE PRESIDENT CARTER'S CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS NOT YET RECEIVED

MAJOR PUBLIC ATTENTION. BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND MR. YOUNG  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LONDON 04227 02 OF 03 141839Z

HAVE SAID THAT THEY WANT TO SEE MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA--WHICH IS OF COURSE ANATHEMA TO MR. JOHN VORSTER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, AND HIS COLLEAGUES. MR. YOUNG EVEN SAID THE OTHER DAY THAT HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE MAJORITY RULE THERE IN TEN YEARS. HOWEVER. THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL FORMULATE POLICIES DESIGNED TO PUSH SOUTH AFRICA ALONG THE MAJORITY RULE ROAD.

DR. KISSINGER CAREFULLY AVOIDED DOING SO, MAINLY BECAUSE HE BELIEVED IT WOULD HAMPER HIS MAIN STRATEGY WHICH WAS TO GET SOUTH AFRICA TO PRESSURE MR. IAN SMITH TO TRANSFER POWER TO THE BLACK RHODESIAN MAJORITY. DR. KISSINGER CLEARLY DECIDED TO LIMIT HIS CRITICISMS OF APARTHEID JUST AS HE PREFERRED NOT TO SPEAK OUT ON THE RUSSIAN DISSIDENTS. HIS HOPE WAS THAT BY SIDESTEPPING THE MORAL ISSUES HE WOULD GET KEY CONCESSIONS ELSEWHERE. MR. CARTER'S OUTSPOKEN WORDS AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION HAVE REVERBERATED AROUND THE WORLD. BUT WILL HE FOLLOW THE SAME LINE ON SOUTH AFRICA? SO FAR HE HAS NOT, BUT A KEY TO THE FUTURE MAY LIE IN THE INTERACTION OF THE PERSONALITIES NOW RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICAN POLICY. COMPARED WITH DR. KISSINGER'S ESSENTIALLY ONE-MAN BAND, THERE ARE NOW A PLETHORA OF PEOPLE INVOLVED, FROM THE WHITE HOUSE ITSELF, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND MR. YOUNG'S UNMISSION. MR. YOUNG IS AT THE CENTER OF MUCH SPECULATION IN WASHINGTON--AND IN AFRICA--AS TO HIS ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL POWER. THE FIRST BLACK CONGRESSMAN FROM THE DEEP SOUTH, A NOTED CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER, MINISTER OF THE CHURCH AND, VERY IMPORTANT, A CLOSE FRIEND OF MR. CARTER' MR. YOUNG INSISTS THAT HE IS WORKING FOR MR. VANCE, A MAN IN A MORE CONVENTIONAL MOLD WHOSE MEASURED TONES CONTRAST STRONGLY WITH MR. YOUNG'S OUTSPOKENNESS. MR. YOUNG MAINTAINS (AS DO OTHERS CLOSE TO HIM AND TO PRESIDENT CARTER) THAT WHILE HE, MR. VANCE, AND MR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI (WHOSE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LONDON 04227 02 OF 03 141839Z

STILL HAS NO AFRICA SPECIALIST) ARE ALL KEY ADVISERS, THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, WHO HAS NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF AFRICA, BUT IS REPORTEDLY DEEPLY INTERESTED AND RECEIVES DAILY REPORTS OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS, WILL FINALLY DETERMINE POLICY.

LAST MONTH MR. YOUNG VISITED AFRICA AS THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL EMISSARY, MEETING OVER A DOZEN HEADS OF STATE ON A FACT-FINDING TOUR. HIS STATEMENTS, WHICH HAVE RANGED FROM A CONDEMNATION OF MRS. HELEN SUZMAN OF THE PROGRESSIVE REFORM PARTY IN SOUTH AFRICA, A DECLARATION THAT THE CUBANS MIGHT BE A STABILIZING INFLUENCE IN ANGOLA, AND HIS LATEST REPORTED REMARK THAT NO ONE IN AFRICA HAS ANY CONFIDENCE IN BRITAIN, HAVE BEEN WIDELY REPORTED. THEY HAVE OFTEN BEEN QUOTED OUT OF CONTEXT, AND HAVE SENT MINOR SHOCK WAVES THROUGH THE BUREAUCRACY, PROVOKING FOR EXAMPLE A GENTLE BUT PUBLIC REBUKE FROM MR. VANCE ON THE CUBANS, A HASTY CORRECTION FOR MRS. SUZMAN, AND CLARIFICATIONS FROM MR. YOUNG HIMSELF OF HIS REFERENCE TO BRITAIN.

MR. YOUNG'S PENCHANT FOR SHOOTING FROM THE HIP, AND SAYING WHAT HE BELIEVES WITH SOME DISREGARD FOR DIPLOMATIC NICETIES, WORRIES HIS FRIENDS. THEY WONDER IF HE CAN LAST THE COURSE IF, FOR EXAMPLE, HE IS REQUIRED TO USE THE UN VETO AGAINST HIS PRINCIPLES BUT IN THE OVERALL U.S. INTEREST. MORE TO THE POINT AT THIS STAGE, HE REMAINS CLOSE TO PRESIDENT CARTER, AND BOTH MEN HAVE A VIEW OF AFRICA, VERY DIFFERENT IN SPIRIT FROM DR. KISSINGER'S, WHICH IS LIKELY TO PROVIDE THE IMPETUS FOR POLICY EVEN THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE SO DEEPLY SHARED BY EITHER MR. VANCE OR MR. BRZEZINSKI.

STEMMING FROM BOTH MEN'S EXPERIENCES IN THE DEEP SOUTH, THAT VIEW BOTH ENCOMPASSES A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS OF RACIALISM AND, CURIOUSLY PERHAPS, CONSIDERABLE FAITH IN THEIR EVENTUAL PEACEFUL RESOLUTION. TOWARDS BLACK AFRICA AS A WHOLE, THERE IS A GREATER "GUT"

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LONDON 04227 02 OF 03 141839Z

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LONDON 04227 03 OF 03 141841Z

ACTION AF-08

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INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 04227

APPRECIATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT, THOUGH  
WHETHER IT CAN BE MATCHED BY GREATER AND BETTER DIRECTED  
U.S. AID IS ANOTHER QUESTION.

MR. YOUNG CERTAINLY BELIEVES THAT AFRICA NEITHER IS  
NOR SHOULD BE A CONFRONTATION AREA IN U.S.-SOVIET RELA-  
TIONS. DESPITE THE RUSSIANS' SUCCESS WITH THE BLACK  
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE NEW ADMIN-  
ISTRATION SEEMS TO DISCOUNT THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIET  
UNION IS BENT ON TAKING OVER AFRICA. WHILE IT ADMITS  
THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL SEIZE ANY ADVANTAGE THERE WHICH  
CAN BE HAD CHEAPLY (AND MAY NOT BE AVERSE TO UNDERMINING  
AFRICAN STABILITY IN THE PROCESS), THEY BELIEVE THAT  
ULTIMATELY THE SOVIETS HAVE LESS TO OFFER THAN THE WEST  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LONDON 04227 03 OF 03 141841Z

AND THAT THIS WOULD BE RECOGNIZED EVEN BY MARXIST  
ORIENTED GOVERNMENTS IN ZIMBABWE OR IN SOUTH AFRICA.  
AS FOR SOUTH AFRICA, MR. YOUNG'S VIEW, APPARENTLY  
SHARED BY THE PRESIDENT, IS THAT THERE IS A STRONG  
PARALLEL BETWEEN THE WHITE AFRIKANER NATIONALIST AND THE  
DIEHARD WHITES OF THE DEEP SOUTH OF A FEW YEARS AGO. THE  
POLICY DEDUCTIONS FROM THIS WOULD BE THAT, JUST AS  
ECONOMIC AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES BROUGHT THE  
DIEHARDS TO THEIR SENSES IN/THE U.S. SOUTH, SO SIMILAR  
PRESSURES MIGHT FORCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO NEGOTIATE  
WITH "THEIR" BLACKS. MANY PEOPLE, INCLUDING U.S. BLACKS  
WITH A KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH AFRICA, BELIEVE THAT THE PARAL-  
LEL IS MISLEADING: IN SOUTH AFRICA THERE IS NO RECOGNI-  
TION EVEN OF A THEORETICAL EQUALITY IN A MULTI-RACIAL  
SOCIETY, AND THEREFORE NO LEGAL PROCESS BY WHICH THAT

EQUALITY MIGHT BE ACHIEVED.

THE REAL QUESTION OF COURSE IS WHETHER IT IS PRACTICAL POLITICS FOR THE U.S. TO TRY TO PUT PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA. THE MOST INTENSE DEBATE IN WASHINGTON TODAY ON AFRICA IS HOW FAR THE U.S. COULD OR SHOULD GO IN TRYING TO USE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LEVERAGE TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. NO ONE SERIOUSLY ADVOCATES FULL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. BUT THERE IS A MULTITUDE OF OTHER POSSIBLE ACTIONS, FROM A MANDATORY REQUIREMENT ON U.S. COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA TO IMPROVE BLACK WORKING CONDITIONS (AS DISTINCT FROM THE VOLUNTARY ATTEMPT ANNOUNCED BY A DOZEN U.S. CORPORATIONS LAST MONTH) THROUGH TO LOAN, TRADE OR CREDIT RESTRICTIONS, OR TO CUTTING OUT CURRENT NUCLEAR COOPERATION.

SOME MAINTAIN (AS DR. KISSINGER DID) THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, AT LEAST UNTIL THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS SOLVED. OTHER OBJECTIONS INCLUDE THAT IT MIGHT UNDERMINE ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN AFRICA, FOR BRITAIN MAINTAINS THAT ITS TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS TOO IMPORTANT FOR IT TO FOLLOW EVEN A LIMITED AMERICAN EXAMPLE. THIS WRITER'S GUESS WOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LONDON 04227 03 OF 03 141841Z

THAT IF ANYTHING IS DONE, IT WILL BE THE THREAT OF SELECTIVE PRESSURES ONLY, AT LEAST FOR A WHILE. THE DEBATE GOES ON, BUT THE FIRST PUBLIC INDICATION OF HOW IMPORTANT EVENTUALLY BE RESOLVED COULD WELL COME AT THE UN LATER THIS MONTH.

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